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TAGS = AMGT, RW

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DRAFTED BY: AF/C: KCAISTON

APPROVED BY: AF/C: AXRENDER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 039213

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM AF/C - K. AISTON

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: AMGT RW

SUBJECT: OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

REF: A) KIGALI 0634 B) KIGALI 0660

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

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2. IN OUR EFFORTS TO HELP BREAK THE IMPASSE OVER FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT, WE HAVE TAKEN THE POSITION THAT ALL SIDES SHARE THE BLAME AND, FOR THIS REASON, WE HAVE BEEN SENDING ESSENTIALLY THE SAME MESSAGE TO ALL PARTIES. HOWEVER, OVER TIME, IT SEEMS MORE AND MORE

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CLEAR THAT THE PRINCIPAL OBSTACLE TO FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT IS HABYARIMANA, AND YOUR REPORT OF THE DEMARCHE ON THE PRESIDENT (REF A) ONLY REINFORCES THIS CONCLUSION. AS REF (A) POINTS OUT, IT IS HABYARIMANA AND HIS PARTY WHO HAVE OPPOSED GOING AHEAD WITHOUT THE PL WHEN ALL OTHER PARTIES SEE THIS AS THE SOLUTION TO THE IMPASSE; HIS OBJECTION THAT THIS WOULD BE AGAINST THE "ARUSHA SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION" STRIKES US AS DISINGENUOUS AT BEST.

3. HABYARIMANA CLAIMS THAT THE BASIC PROBLEM IS A SPLIT IN THE PL, BUT TO BREAK THE IMPASSE HABYARIMANA'S PARTY WANTS A CODE OF CONDUCT AND POSSIBLE AMNESTY, BOTH OF WHICH ARE DESIGNED TO PROVIDE ASSURANCES TO HABYARIMANA AND THE MRND, NOT TO MEET THE DESIRES OF THE PL. THIS FACT ALONE SUGGESTS THAT HABYARIMANA IS PULLING MUGENZI'S STRINGS AND, IF THE PRICE IS RIGHT, HE COULD ORDER HIM TO COMPROMISE WITH LANDO AND END THE IMPASSE. MUGENZI'S COMPLETE ABOUT-FACE OVER THE LAST FEW MONTHS, HIS TRANSPARENT ATTEMPT TO CO-OPT HUTU EXTREMISTS INTO THE PARTY, AND HIS RECENT HABIT OF MOVING IN LOCK-STEP WITH THE PRESIDENT ALL GIVE WEIGHT TO THE REPORTS THAT HE IS FIRMLY IN HABYARIMANA'S POCKET. THE FACT THAT ALL PARTIES SHOWED UP FOR SUNDAY'S NEGOTIATIONS EXCEPT THE MRND AND MUGENZI LENDS FURTHER SUPPORT TO THE THEORY THAT HABYARIMANA IS THE MAIN OBSTACLE NOW, AND THAT HE IS WHERE WE SHOULD FOCUS OUR ATTENTION.

4. IF HABYARIMANA IS IN FACT THE PROBLEM, A BLUNT DEMARCHE ON HIM ALONE, LAYING THE CARDS ON THE TABLE, WOULD BE THE NEXT LOGICAL STEP. WE WOULD WANT TO

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COORDINATE OUR DEMARCHE WITH THE UN ENVOY AND THE WESTERN DIPS, OF COURSE.

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5. BEFORE WE PROPOSE THIS NEXT STEP, WE WOULD LIKE TO
HEAR YOUR THOUGHTS. DOES OUR INTERPRETATION OF EVENTS
JIBE WITH WHAT POST IS SEEING ON THE GROUND? IF SO, DOES
POST BELIEVE THAT A TOUGH DEMARCHE ON THE PRESIDENT ALONE
IS THE BEST APPROACH? PLEASE ADVISE.
CHRISTOPHER

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